

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 170767

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ORIGIN PM-07

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SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 ACDA-19 DODE-00 SS-15

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

S E C R E T STATE 170767

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM,NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: GUIDANCE FOR AUGUST 28 SPC MEETING ON INTRO-
DUCTION AND SECTION II OF IS DRAFT

REFS: A. USNATO 3963

B. USNATO 3981

1. WE CAN ACCEPT IS DRAFT AS BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF
ALLIANCE POSITION PAPER. FOLLOWING GUIDANCE FOR YOUR USE
AUGUST 28 IS KEYED TO PARAS IN DRAFT AS GIVEN REF A.
GUIDANCE ON SECTION III SENT SEPTTEL.
SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 170767

2. YOU SHOULD PREFACE YOUR REMARKS WITH REAFFIRMATION OF
IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO PRIORITY ATTENTION FOR SECTION II
IN DRAFTING WESTERN NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR NAC CONSI-
DERATION BY SEPTEMBER 7 (PER PARA 3, STATE 157092). IN

THIS CONTEXT, QUESTIONS CONCERNING USE IN NEGOTIATIONS OF ALLIED POSITION SET FORTH IN SECTION II SHOULD BE DEALT WITH PRIMARILY IN SECTION III ON STRATEGY.

3. ALLIED COMMENTS (FYI. INTER ALIA DURING FRG WORKING LEVEL VISIT HERE AUGUST 23-24. END FYI.) INDICATE SOME MISUNDERSTANDING AS TO US CONCEPTION OF NATURE AND CHARACTER OF THE NEGOTIATING POSITION WE HAVE RECOMMENDED TO

THE ALLIES. CORRECTION OF THESE MISPERCEPTIONS SHOULD FACILITATE ALLIED AGREEMENT TO SECTION II ALONG LINES PROPOSED BY US. IN GENERAL DISCUSSION YOU SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS, WHICH EXPAND ON STATE 166471, PARAS 3, SECOND 5 AND 7.

4. IN OUR VIEW, US PROPOSALS IN PAPER OF JULY 27 ARE NOT RPT NOT A TACTICALLY CONCEIVED OPENING POSITION FROM WHICH ALLIES MIGHT RETREAT TO FALLBACK POSITIONS WHICH IT WOULD ALSO BE NECESSARY TO DEFINE IN ADVANCE WITHIN ALLIANCE. IF AGREED TO BY THE ALLIES, THEY ARE INTENDED TO REPRESENT THE ACTUAL AIMS OF THE ALLIES IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, AIMS WHICH WE HOPE THE ALLIES WILL MAKE AN ENERGETIC AND DETERMINED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE. WE HAVE REMINDED THE ALLIES THAT WE FACE A TOUGH NEGOTIATING PARTNER WHOSE OWN INTENTIONS CANNOT BE FULLY KNOWN IN ADVANCE. FOR THAT REASON US PROPOSAL CONSISTS OF NEGOTIATING AIMS TO BE VIGOROUSLY PURSUED, NOT A PREDICTION OF THE SOLE ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME, THOUGH THE PROPOSALS ALSO DEFINE THE LIMITS AS REGARDS PHASE I AND OVERALL TROOP REDUCTIONS BEYOND WHICH THE ALLIES WOULD NOT GO.

5. WE CONSIDER THAT OUR PROPOSAL IS REALISTIC IN THE WAY IT TAKES INTO ACCOUNT VARIOUS ASPECTS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION, ESPECIALLY THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET FORCE POSTURE AND THE GEOGRAPHIC AND OTHER DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES, AND THAT IT CONSEQUENTLY HAS
SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 170767

REASONABLE CHANCES OF SUCCESS IF PURSUED WITH SUFFICIENT DETERMINATION AND UNITY.

6. AT THE SAME TIME, THE OVERALL NEGOTIATING SITUATION IS SUCH THAT WE ALSO DO NOT CONSIDER IT PRACTICAL TO ARTIFICIALLY BUILD UP ALLIED NEGOTIATING AIMS AT THE OUTSET FOR TACTICAL REASONS. THE ALLIES ARE FACING A MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATION WITH NINETEEN PARTICIPANTS, TWELVE ON THE ALLIED SIDE. THE ALLIED PARTICIPANTS MUST AGREE ON A CLEAR COURSE OR ALLIED COHESION AND EFFECTIVENESS WILL SUFFER. ALL PARTICIPATING ALLIES HAVE A NEED TO INFORM THEIR PARLIAMENTARY AND PUBLIC OPINION ON ALLIED NEGOTIATING AIMS AND POSITIONS. PAST EXPERIENCE INDICATES THAT IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO KEEP FROM THE EAST

THE DETAILS OF EITHER THE BASIC ALLIED POSITION OR OF CONTRIVED NEGOTIATING POSTURES. THE ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE ADOPT A MODE OF NEGOTIATION CONFIGURED TO THE ACTUAL SITUATION THEY FACE. IN DOING SO, THEY WILL

NOT BE ABLE TO USE SOME OF THE STANDARD TACTICS POSSIBLE IN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND RELY PRIMARILY ON DETERMINATION AND PERTINACITY AS WAYS OF CONVINCING THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES THAT THE WEST IS WHOLLY SERIOUS ABOUT ITS NEGOTIATING POSITION.

7. FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF THESE POINTS, MISSION SHOULD PROPOSE THAT THE BEGINNING OF SECTION II CONTAIN AN AGREED DESCRIPTION OF ALLIED POSITION ALONG LINES TEXT GIVEN BELOW. (SUGGESTED LANGUAGE FOR SECTION III REFLECTING TACTICAL CONCEPT IN PARA 6 ABOVE TRANSMITTED SEPTEL.) WE BELIEVE INCLUSION OF AGREED DESCRIPTION WOULD REDUCE CONFUSION ON CHARACTER OF POSITION AND LIMIT UNPRODUCTIVE FUTURE DEBATE, GIVEN CURRENT DIFFERENCES IN ALLIED PERCEPTIONS. YOU MAY PROPOSE FOLLOWING TEXT AS REPLACEMENT FOR PARA 4 OF CURRENT IS DRAFT. BEGIN TEXT. THE POSITION DESCRIBED IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS DEFINES THE GOALS THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED TO SEEK IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. IT REPRESENTS NEITHER A RIGID DEFINITION OF THE SOLE ACCEPTABLE OUTCOME NOR A TACTICAL POSITION DESIGNED PRIMARILY FOR BARGAINING PURPOSES. ADJUSTMENT OF THIS POSITION, FOR INSTANCE IN RESPONSE TO REQUIRE-
SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 170767

MENTS OF THE NEGOTIATING SITUATION, WOULD NECESSITATE A COLLECTIVE POLICY DECISION TO BE TAKEN BY THE ALLIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH SECTION V OF THIS DOCUMENT. END TEXT.

8. US POSITIONS ON DETAILS OF INTRODUCTION AND SECTION II FOLLOW. FOR PURPOSES OF THIS CABLE, MAJOR TOPICS ARE ALSO DESIGNATED ALPHABETICALLY.

A. INTRODUCTION.

PARA 1. WE CAN ACCEPT DIVISION OF OLD SECTION IV INTO NEW SECTIONS IV, ON NEGOTIATING PROCEDURES, AND V, ON INTRA-ALLIANCE COORDINATION. HOWEVER, IF ACTUAL DRAFTING SUGGESTS ADVISABILITY OF RECOMBINATION, WE MAY WISH TO RETURN TO THIS TOPIC.

PARA 2. REVISE FIRST SENTENCE TO READ "THE GUIDELINES PROVIDE THE STANDARD IN TERMS OF WHICH ALLIED GOVERNMENTS WILL DETERMINE ETC." WE CAN ACCEPT SECOND ALTERNATIVE FORMULATION DESCRIBING INDIVIDUAL SECTIONS IF PHRASE "AND CONDUCT THE INITIAL STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS" ADDED TO DESCRIPTION OF SECTION III.

PARA 3. REVISE SECOND SENTENCE TO READ "IT MAY, OF COURSE, BE DRAWN UPON AS APPROPRIATE IN PRESENTATIONS TO THE OTHER SIDE." ELEMENTS OF ALL SECTIONS WILL EVEN-

TUALLY BE DRAWN ON IN NEGOTIATIONS.

B. INTRODUCTION TO ALLIED POSITION (SECTION II).

PARA 4. SEE PARA 7 OF THIS CABLE ABOVE.

C. TERMINOLOGY.

PARA 5. REVISE TO READ "DISTINCTIONS AMONG NATO FORCES AND WARSAW PACT FORCES, WHEN NECESSARY FOR INTERNAL ALLIANCE PURPOSES OR IN FIRST-PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE, WILL BE MADE IN TERMS OF UNITED STATES AND SOVIET FORCES ON THE ONE HAND AND NON-US NATO AND NON-SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 170767

SOVIET WARSAW PACT FORCES ON THE OTHER, RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES." WE DO NOT BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD ADOPT TERMINOLOGY FOR FIRST PHASE WHICH WOULD PREJUDGE CONFIGURATION OF SECOND PHASE IN ANY DIRECTION.

D. PRINCIPLES.

PARA 6. DELETE. MISSION SHOULD OPPOSE INCLUSION OF SEPARATE DISCUSSION OF PRINCIPLES IN GUIDANCE PAPER AND ARGUE THAT SECTION I CONSTITUTES ADEQUATE TREATMENT OF PRINCIPLES, ALONG LINES YOU SUGGEST RE PARA 6 IN REF B. YOU MAY WISH TO ARGUE, IN SUPPORT OF THIS POSITION, THAT ALLIES SHOULD HAVE ADEQUATE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP CENTRAL CONCEPTS OF THEIR POSITION IN THE PERIOD FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF OPENING STATEMENTS.

E. PRE-REDUCTION STABILIZING MEASURES.

PARA 7. FIRST SENTENCE OF TEXT, PLUS LAST SENTENCE REVISED TO READ "SUBJECT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETAILED PROPOSALS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE AND TO THE CONSIDERATIONS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH (BLANK) OF SECTION I OF THIS DOCUMENT, THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT PRIOR TO REDUCTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING MEASURES," PLUS LIST OF MEASURES GIVEN IN REF A. WE ARE PROPOSING INCLUSION OF STANDARD TERMINOLOGY THAT "ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT" RE STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS AND VERIFICATION PROVISIONS, AS WELL AS PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. BEGIN FYI. THIS IS IN KEEPING WITH OUR VIEW THAT ALTHOUGH SOME FORM OF CONSTRAINTS, AND VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL MEANS, WILL HAVE TO BE PART OF AN MBFR AGREEMENT, THIS IS NOT TRUE OF AGREEMENT TO CONSTRAINTS

PRIOR TO REDUCTIONS OR ON-SITE INSPECTION MEASURES. END FYI. ON PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS, GUIDANCE IN PARAS 13-15 OF STATE 158062 AND PARAS 2-3 OF STATE 162345 CONTINUES TO APPLY. BEGIN FYI. DURING AUGUST 23-24 VISIT, FRG WORKING LEVEL SUGGESTED FRG WILLINGNESS PARTICIPATE IN THESE MEASURES. END FYI.

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 170767

F. REDUCTIONS.

PARA 8. WE ENDORSE FIRST ALTERNATIVE AND DELETION OF REMAINDER INCLUDING 8 BIS. WE COULD ACCEPT REVISION TO READ "THE OBJECTIVE WOULD BE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ETC." WE CONCUR WITH ARGUMENTS SUGGESTED BY MISSION RE PARA 8 IN REF B.

PARA 9. YOU SHOULD PROPOSE SLIGHTLY REFORMULATED VERSION OF PROPOSAL IN JULY 27 SUBMISSION: "WITHDRAWAL TO THEIR HOMELANDS OF SOME US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES FROM THE GUIDELINES AREA, AS THE FIRST STEP TOWARD THE OBJECTIVE DEFINED ABOVE (I.E., TOWARD AN OVERALL NATO/WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE COMMON CEILING OF APPROXIMATELY 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE)." WE CONSIDER BELGIAN SUGGESTION (90 PERCENT) TORTUOUS, SINCE ALLIES WOULD IN ANY CASE HAVE TO DEFINE OVERALL FIGURE ON WHICH PERCENTAGE BASED. RE "WITHDRAWAL" VS. REPATRIATION," WE CONSIDER US TERMINOLOGY MORE STRAIGHTFORWARD AND UNDERSTANDABLE, AND COULD NOT ACCEPT APPELLATION IMPLYING THAT INDIVIDUAL "OLDIERS WITHDRAWN MAY NOT BE REASSIGNED TO OTHER US UNITS OUTSIDE CONUS.

PARA 10. ACCEPT.

PARA 11. FIRST ALTERNATIVE.

PARA 12 I. FIRST ALTERNATIVE, WITHOUT SECOND SENTENCE IF PARA 10 ACCEPTED, WITH SECOND SENTENCE IF PARA 10 NOT ACCEPTED. WE COULD ALSO ACCEPT TEXT SUGGESTED BY MISSION RE PARA 12(I) IF CHANGED TO READ "NATO SHOULD BE PERMITTED FLEXIBILITY IN THE FORM OF REDUCTION ON GROUNDS OF ASSYMMETRY OF CONDITIONS, WHEREAS REDUCTION OF WARSAW PACT FORCES BY MAJOR UNITS SHOULD BE SOUGHT."

PARA 12.II. WE CANNOT ACCEPT UK-PROPOSED LANGUAGE TO BASIC PARAGRAPH PENDING COMPLETION OF US STUDY ON HOW TO STRUCTURE US PHASE I REDUCTIONS.

PARA 12. III. OPPOSE, USING ARGUMENTS SUGGESTED REF A.

PARA 12.IV. US CANNOT ACCEPT UK FORMULATION AT THIS TIME PENDING REVIEW OF THE ISSUES IN THIS ELEMENT.

SECRET

PAGE 07 STATE 170767

G. NON-CIRCUMVENTION AND OTHER STABILIZING MEASURES.

HEADING BETWEEN PARAS 12. AND 13. AMEND TO READ "NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS, INCLUDING STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS." WE SUGGEST THIS AMENDMENT SINCE THE ALLIES WILL BE DEALING WITH THESE STABILIZING MEASURES IN NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE RUBRIC OF MEASURES TO MAKE REDUCTION PROVISIONS EFFECTIVE, AND SHOULD BEGIN TO TREAT THEM UNDER A SINGLE RUBRIC. IF THERE IS RESISTANCE, YOU MAY ACCEPT HEADING READING "STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS AND NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS." WE PROPOSE DELETION OF PHRASE "AND TO MAKE REDUCTION PROVISIONS EFFECTIVE" FOR EDITORIAL REASONS ONLY.

PARA 13. AMEND INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE TO READ "SUBJECT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF DETAILED PROPOSALS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING MEASURES, APPLICABLE TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA:". YOU MAY ACCEPT BRACKETED SECOND "ENTENCE OF II IF AMENDED TO READ: "PROPOSALS BY THE EAST FOR APPLICATION OF THESE CONSTRAINTS TO NON-US NATO FORCES OR FOR FORMULATIONS WHICH WOULD IMPLY AUTOMATIC APPLICATION OF SUCH CONSTRAINTS IN THE SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD BE REJECTED." YOU MAY ACCEPT DELETION OF BRACKETED LANGUAGE IN III.

HEADING BETWEEN PARAS 13. AND 14. DELETE.

PARA 14. TELESCOPE I AND II TO READ: "WHILE ALL POSSIBILITIES SHOULD BE STUDIED, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT NON-CIRCUMVENTION WITH RESPECT TO HUNGARY COULD BE ASSURED THROUGH THE APPLICATION TO HUNGARY OF STABILIZING MEASURES SUCH AS THOSE LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 13 ABOVE, THE BEST TIME TO DETERMINE WHICH SPECIFIC MEASURES WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE ETC." THIS CHANGE WOULD MAKE FOOTNOTE UNNECESSARY SINCE REF TO MBFR WORKING GROUP IS ELIMINATED.

PARA 15. AMEND TO READ: "THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT ON VERIFICATION MEASURES ETC."

SECRET

PAGE 08 STATE 170767

PARA 16. AMEND INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE TO READ:

"I. NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS WILL BE A NECESSARY PROVISION OF MBFR AGREEMENTS.

II. IN ADDITION, SUBJECT TO DEVELOPMENT OF DETAILED

PROPOSALS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREE-

MENT ON OVERT VERIFICATION MEASURES (I.E., TO INTERNATIONAL ON-SITE INSPECTION), APPLICABLE TO THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA, SUCH AS:". DROP BELGIAN BRACKETED TEXT.

HEADING BETWEEN PARAS 16. AND 17. TO FOLLOW PARA 17. AT END OF PAPER AS NEW NUMBERED PARA 18, "PROVISIONS FOR REVIEW AND AMENDMENT OF OR WITHDRAWAL FROM A POSSIBLE PHASE I AGREEMENT."

H. SECOND PHASE. MISSION SHOULD PROPOSE ADDITION OF TEXT GIVEN BELOW TO PRESENT PARA 17. IT REPRESENTS THOSE ELEMENTS OF PROPOSED PARAS 18-20 WE ARE NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT. MISSION SHOULD ALSO PROPOSE CONSEQUENT DELETION OF PARAS 18-20 AS SUCH, TOGETHER WITH ELEMENTS NOT INCLUDED HERE, AS EITHER PREMATURE OR DEALT WITH IN OUR PROPOSED ADDITION TO PARA 17 AND ELSEWHERE. BEGIN TEXT. PARA "THE ALLIES WILL SEEK INCLUSION IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT OF LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE THE AGGREGATES OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES REMAINING IN THE GUIDELINES AREA AFTER FIRST-PHASE REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK FURTHER REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE."

(PARA) "IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO TRY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO FURTHER DEFINE THE CONTENT OF A LATER PHASE BEFORE THE OUTCOME OF THE FIRST PHASE CAN REALISTICALLY BE PROJECTED AND THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT SUCH DEFINITION AT THIS TIME. SECOND-PHASE REDUCTIONS WOULD
SECRET

PAGE 09 STATE 170767

NOT BE NEGOTIATED IN PARALLEL WITH NEGOTIATION ON THE REDUCTIONS ENVISAGED IN PARAGRAPHS 8-12 ABOVE. THE ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN DISCUSSING THIS TOPIC WITH THE EAST EARLY IN NEGOTIATIONS OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THE SECOND STAGE WOULD COMPLETE MOVEMENT TO THE OVERALL MBFR GOAL OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE GUIDELINES AREA." END TEXT.

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